

## THE WORK OF MENEZES ON THE MALABAR LITURGY.

WHEN the various statements about the Malabar Liturgy which are to be found in modern writers are put together, it would almost appear that the one point on which there is an absolute consensus is the historical fact that this liturgy was revised and expurgated by the Portuguese Archbishop of Goa, Aleixo de Menezes, at the Synod of Diamper in 1599. As to the precise nature of the changes introduced by Menezes, there is a disconcerting lack of unanimity on such leading questions as the following: (*a*) Whether the Malabar rite previous to its revision contained a formula of Institution; (*b*) whether or not Menezes altered the former position of the Institution (assuming its existence in the old Malabar rite); (*c*) whether or not he tampered with the terms of the Invocation of the Holy Spirit with a view to depriving it of the character of a formula of consecration. For the rest, it seems to be the prevailing impression that the revision was of such a drastic kind as to alter radically the character of the original rite; but further—and this is the point of most importance to the student of Liturgy—that the old rite, as regards the order of its parts and the precise terms of its formulæ, is now past recovery, and remains only a subject for conjecture.

To illustrate these remarks it is necessary to quote some passages expressive of ideas which, in England at all events, have been held during the last sixty or seventy years as to the nature of Menezes's work of revision. I take the passages in chronological order.

1. *J. W. Etheridge*. 'Menexes, the Portuguese archbishop, in his crusade against the Nestorians of Malabar in the sixteenth century, not content with suppressing and burning the two secondary offices of Theodore and Nestorius, introduced a variety of changes into that called after "the Apostles", which have been the subject of severe criticism among the Romanists themselves. A formulary of consecration was supplied, corresponding with that in use in the Latin church; the host was to be elevated and adored after the consecration. . . . By these and a number of other changes, their Liturgy underwent an essential alteration of character, and no longer represented the old Nestorian worship' (*The Syrian Churches* pp. 217-218: published 1846. To the like effect, as regards the Institution, is another passage, pp. 99-100).

2. *Dr J. M. Neale.* 'I have ventured to make a considerable alteration in the order of the above prayers. As we have the Malabar Liturgy from the Portuguese revisers, the sequence of the Collects is that which is given by bracketed numerals in the margin.' Here the Invocation of the Holy Ghost, contrary to the use of every other Oriental Liturgy, preceded the words of Institution. This, in itself, would be a sufficient proof that an alteration had been made; though very carelessly, if not *malâ fide*, no notice is given of it. But fortunately the Nestorian Liturgy of Theodore the Interpreter bears a sufficient resemblance to this [the Malabar] to shew what was the original order: I have therefore arranged the prayers according to that. The Liturgy of All Apostles,<sup>2</sup> the Nestorian norm, bears, as would be natural, a closer resemblance still to the Malabar; but as All Apostles, from whatever cause, has not the words of Institution at all, it is not so useful in shewing how the Malabar was arranged' (*The Liturgies . . . translated, with Introduction and Appendices*, seventh edition, p. 165 note. See also *ibid.* pp. xx-xxi. The first edition appeared in 1859).

3. *G. B. Howard.* 'The most notable of the alterations confessed by the Portuguese editor, Gouvea, are . . . And particularly, the transposition of the Invocation of the Holy Ghost from its former position *after* the words of consecration [Institution], so as to *precede* those words: and the alteration of its terms, so as to make it refer solely to a fruitful reception of the Eucharist.' [To this is added the following note:] 'This was done, as the Roman censors confess, in order to prevent the idea that the words of Christ uttered by the priest are not sufficient by themselves to effect the consecration' (*The Christians of St Thomas and their Liturgies*, 1864, p. 40. See also p. 229 note a).

4. *Mr F. E. Warren.* 'Group III. *The Persian Rite* (SS. Adaeus and Maris). . . . The liturgy of the Christians of St Thomas, on the Malabar coast of India, formerly belonged to this group, but it was almost completely assimilated to the Roman liturgy by the Portuguese Jesuits at the Synod of Diamper in 1599' (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*, article 'Liturgy', 1911).

In none of the above passages, or in the works from which they are drawn, is it formally suggested that there is any possibility of getting behind Menezes's expurgated text of the Malabar rite to that on which he operated. But in two or three of the passages there are suggestions as to some more or less close relation between the Malabar and the East-Syrian liturgy known as that of the 'Apostles' Addai and Mari.

<sup>1</sup> Namely, in the margin of Dr Neale's translation of the Malabar rite (R. H. C.).

<sup>2</sup> i. e. the liturgy of the *two* 'Apostles', Addai and Mari (R. H. C.).

Etheridge even speaks of the liturgy revised by Menezes as 'that called after "the Apostles"'; and the revised text itself, of which we have a contemporary Latin translation, bears the title *Sacrum BB. Apostolorum*. Moreover, in 1870, so eminent an authority as Bickell made the following observation: 'As the Malabar liturgy is, apart from mere variants, identical with that of the Apostles, it should not be treated, as usually happens, as a distinct liturgy.'<sup>1</sup>

If this statement of Bickell's be true, it puts us in possession of an important fact which we should hardly have gathered from the authorities quoted above. My friend Mr Edmund Bishop pointed out to me that it is substantially true, and that it may be verified by a very simple and obvious process which, for his own private satisfaction in this matter, he had already put into operation. It is on the lines of his suggestion that the present paper has been written; though I have worked the whole subject through for myself, and present it in my own way.

We now have a Syriac edition of the East-Syrian liturgy of the Apostles Addai and Mari, and we have also a Latin translation of the Malabar liturgy as it was left by the Portuguese revisers. To test the accuracy of Bickell's observation it is only necessary to compare these two texts one with the other. When this has been done it will be possible to discuss the further questions, how far Menezes altered the text of the pre-existing Malabar rite, and how far it is possible to get behind his revision to the text he worked upon.<sup>2</sup>

For the purpose of this comparison it will be necessary to draw out a full Concordance of the contents of the East-Syrian liturgy of Addai and Mari and the Malabar. This will be long, and such tabular apparatus usually present a somewhat forbidding appearance; but there is no other way of dealing with the matter satisfactorily.

As a preliminary to the proposed Concordance something must be said about the documents at our disposal. And first for 'Addai and Mari'.

The East-Syrian liturgy of the Apostles Addai and Mari was first published in a Latin translation by Renaudot in 1716, in vol. ii of his *Liturgiarum Orientalium Collectio* pp. 584-597. An English translation based on other Syriac manuscripts was published by G. P. Badger in 1875.<sup>3</sup> The Syriac text was first printed in 1890 by members of the

<sup>1</sup> In the Münster *Literarischer Handweiser*, March 1870: No. 88 p. 55 note 1. By 'Apostles' Bickell of course means Addai and Mari.

<sup>2</sup> These questions will form the subject of a subsequent Note.

<sup>3</sup> *The Syriac Liturgies of the Apostles Mâr Adai and Mâr Mâri, . . . Mâr Theodorus of Mopsuestia, and Mâr Nestorius* pp. 1-16 (Occasional paper of the Eastern Church Association, No. xvii).

Archbishop of Canterbury's Mission at Urmi in Persia.<sup>1</sup> These three editions are based on independent sets of manuscripts. The Urmi Syriac text is the basis of the English translation given by Mr Brightman in his *Eastern Liturgies* pp. 252-305 (1896). For other translations, see Mr Brightman's volume, pp. lxxvii-lxxviii: there are no others that I know of which have any textual authority independent of the three editions just mentioned.

Next as regards the Malabar rite. No edition exists of this liturgy in its unrevised form, and diligent search for any manuscript of it has hitherto yielded no result. Hence our concern must be solely with the revised form of text which issued from the Synod of Diamper in 1599, and with those readings of the old text which the Acts of the Synod record. Of these readings no account need be taken in the present general comparison of the Malabar and the East-Syrian 'Addai and Mari' as liturgies; they will call for attention in a subsequent Note, when it will be necessary to discuss the exact nature and extent of the changes introduced by Menezes.

The Acts of the Synod of Diamper were first published in Portuguese at Coimbra in Portugal, by Antonio de Gouvea,<sup>2</sup> in 1606, or seven years after the Synod. As an appendix to the Acts of the Synod Gouvea printed a Latin translation, made from the Syriac, of the Malabar liturgy as revised by Menezes.<sup>3</sup> Gouvea was a member of the Augustinian Order, to which Menezes himself belonged. He was sent to Goa in 1591, and remained in India, apparently, till 1602. Thus there can be no reasonable doubt that he had access to the Acts of the Synod in a perfectly authentic form, and to a copy of the liturgy containing just the alterations decreed by the Synod and no more. Copies of Gouvea's work are now very scarce; but in 1745 the text of the Acts of the Synod contained in it was translated into Latin by another Augustinian, J. F. Raulin, in his *Historia Ecclesiae Malabaricae cum Diamperitana Synodo* (Rome). In this work Raulin's translation of the Acts from Gouvea's Portuguese is followed immediately by Gouvea's original Latin text of the revised Malabar Liturgy. In Raulin's book therefore we have in a convenient form the two documents which are the whole of the first-hand material available for our present purpose. Raulin's own treatment of these documents, in the

<sup>1</sup> *Liturgia sanctorum Apostolorum Adaei et Maris*, &c., Urmiae, typis missionis archiepiscopi Cantuariensis.

<sup>2</sup> In his *Jornado do Arcebispo de Goa Dom Frey Aleixo de Menezes*.

<sup>3</sup> To the text of the liturgy he added a short preface containing some important information on a textual point; but this will not concern us in the present Note. The Acts will be found translated into English in *The History of the Church of Malabar*, by Michael Geddes, London, 1594. Geddes also translates Gouvea's preface to the liturgy, but not the liturgy itself.

capacity of editor or historian, may be interesting; but any observations or editorial notes of his must be kept in their proper place, and must not be confounded with the testimony of the documents themselves, which were *his* only authorities as they are ours.<sup>1</sup>

In the Concordance which presently follows I use the Urmi text of 'Addai and Mari' as the basis of comparison with the Malabar liturgy; but I use it in Mr Brightman's translation, since this can easily be consulted by all who may be interested in the present subject. It is necessary to point out, however, that Mr Brightman has supplied from other sources certain formulæ not found in the Urmi Syriac edition of the *Takhsa*, or regular mass-book. The chief of these are a set of diptychs and a number of chants (hymns or anthems of various kinds). Some of these formulæ are merely indicated in the rubrics of the Syriac edition; of others no mention is made at all. The meaning of this is that such pieces do not fall within the scope of the *Takhsa*, or missal, and are to be supplied in the service from other books. Thus the absence of such items (when they are absent) from the Malabar clearly has no significance as marking any difference in usage from the East-Syrian rite. But further, the Urmi Syriac text of the *Takhsa* itself is exceptionally full as compared with those represented by the translations of Renaudot and Badger (particularly that of Renaudot). I do not know exactly on what system the Urmi edition was made; but we may perhaps surmise that it is to some extent a compilation, and represents an aggregate of the contents of several manuscripts varying somewhat among themselves. However this may be, in taking the Urmi text as a basis of comparison we are putting the Malabar to a severe test; and it should be no matter for surprise that it fails to provide a parallel to every item that is to be found in the Urmi Syriac—much less that it falls short of Mr Brightman's still fuller text. What is really remarkable is that the Malabar has so much in common with these very exuberant documents as it actually has: the more so as we are dealing here with independent translations, into different languages, of the original Syriac texts; and one of these translations was made so long ago as the end of the sixteenth century, probably under no very favourable circumstances. In not a few of its omissions, as compared with the Urmi, the Malabar text is supported by that of Renaudot. In a number of cases I draw

<sup>1</sup> Dr Neale seems to fall into this error when he writes: 'Raulin, in his edition, professes to point out all the alterations made by the Synod, and to give, in a note, the original: but the least study of his work will shew that some important changes pass without the least notice by him' (*op. cit.* seventh ed. p. xxi). Raulin only professes to reproduce, in notes under the revised text of the liturgy, the original readings of altered passages *preserved in the Acts*. If he fails to do so here and there, or mistakes the meaning of a prescription, this should not be made to reflect on the trustworthiness of the Acts themselves.

attention to this in foot-notes, but not everywhere; and I make but one reference in the notes to Badger's text, though it offers some further support to 'Malabar' against 'Urmi'.

For the Malabar rite I use in the Concordance Gouvea's Latin text in the edition of Raulin.

It remains only to indicate the method of the Concordance. For convenience I divide the whole contents of the two documents into sections numbered with Roman numerals (I to VI). In the first column, headed *Urmi*, the contents of the Urmi edition are indicated in continuous order. The references to page and line accompanying the items are to Mr Brightman's *Eastern Liturgies* (= 'Br'). In the second column, headed *Malabar*, I give the relative contents of the Malabar text, with references to page and line of Raulin's edition. Here also the whole contents are indicated in continuous order, with the exception only of section II. In Section II the order of parts in the two documents differs materially, so that it was found necessary to treat it differently and separately from the rest.<sup>1</sup>

In such a table as the following it was not found possible to take account of textual differences; but it is to be understood in general that when two items stand opposite each other in the parallel columns, the formulae indicated by the cues which I supply are substantially the same: wherever this is not the case some sufficient indication of the fact is given. I have indicated only such rubrics as appeared to be of use for the purpose of the Concordance. For the rest, I think the table is sufficiently simple to explain itself.

## CONCORDANCE.

*I. From the beginning to the Trisagion (inclusive).*

	<i>Urmi</i> (reff. to Br).	<i>Malabar</i> (Raulin).
(1)	<i>deest.</i>	p. 293 ll. 1-6. Rubric.
(2)	p. 252 ll. 9-10. 'In the name of the Father', &c.	<i>deest.</i>
(3)	p. 252 ll. 11-36. 'Glory to God in the highest' and 'Our Father', farced with <i>sanctus</i> .	p. 293 ll. 7-23. 'Gloria in excelsis Deo', &c. (in like manner).
(4)	p. 253 ll. 1-2. Deacon's salutation: 'Peace', &c.	see (8) below.
(5)	p. 253 ll. 4-8. Prayer before <i>Marmitha</i> : 'Strengthen', &c.	p. 293 l. 24-p. 294 l. 5. Prayer: 'Robora', &c.

<sup>1</sup> For the method adopted for Section II see below, p. 413.

- | <i>Urmi.</i>   | <i>Malabar.</i>  |
|--|--|
| (6) p. 253 note <i>a</i> .<br>Alternative prayer to preceding.   | p. 294 ll. 7-11.<br>Prayer (= Urmi, opposite).   |
| (7) p. 253 ll. 10-13.<br><i>Marmitha</i> of 4 Pss.: xcvi-xcviii and xxxv <i>vv.</i> 18-28 (cues only). | p. 294 l. 13-p. 295 l. 15.<br>Pss. xv, cl, cxvii (=the alternative <i>Marmitha</i> , Br. p. 253 note <i>b</i> ). |
| (8) <i>see</i> (4) <i>above</i> .  | p. 294 l. 16.<br>Deacon's salutation: 'Pax', &c.   |
| (9) p. 253 ll. 17-26.<br>Prayer: 'Before the glorious throne', &c.                                     | p. 295 ll. 17-25.<br>'Coram throno superglorioso', &c.   |
| (10) p. 253 note <i>c</i> .<br>Alternative prayer to preceding.  | p. 295 ll. 27-32.<br>Prayer (= Urmi, opposite).  |
| (11) p. 253 l. 29-p. 254 l. 17.<br>'Anthem of the Sanctuary'.  | <i>deest</i> . <sup>1</sup>  |
| (12) p. 254 ll. 19-26.<br>Prayer before the <i>Lākkhumāra</i> :<br>'When the sweetsavour', &c.         | <i>see</i> (14) <i>below</i> .   |
| (13) p. 254 l. 28-p. 255 l. 12.<br>The <i>Lukhumāra</i> : 'Thee, Lord', &c.                            | p. 295 l. 34-p. 296 l. 16.<br>'Te Dominum', &c.  |
| (14) <i>see</i> (12) <i>above</i> .  | p. 296 ll. 17-25.<br>Prayer: 'Domine Deus noster, quando spirabit . . . odor suavissimus', &c.                   |
| (15) p. 255 ll. 15-23.<br>Trisagion.   | p. 296 ll. 26-34.<br>Trisagion.  |

[II. *From the lections to the Creed (inclusive).*]<sup>2</sup>

III. *From Creed to 'Sursum corda'.*

- |  |                                 |
|--|---------------------------------|
| (1) p. 271 ll. 9-17.<br>Rubric containing prescription as to washing of hands. | <i>deest hic</i> . <sup>3</sup> |
| (2) p. 271 col. 1 l. 19-p. 272 col. 1 l. 11.                                   | p. 307 l. 32-p. 308 l. 13.      |

<sup>1</sup> The text of this anthem is not given in the Urmi Syriac; it has been supplied from elsewhere by Mr Brightman. The Syr. has this rubric: 'And they say the Anthem of the Sanctuary, whatever it be.'

<sup>2</sup> I reserve the treatment of this section to the end, since the order of the service is so different here in the two documents that it is impossible to exhibit the relative portions by the same method as has been adopted for the rest of the liturgy. See below, p. 413.

<sup>3</sup> Malabar gives the washing earlier in the service. See on this p. 420 note 1 below.

*Urmi.*

- Deacon : ' Let us pray. Peace be with us'. Then the proclamation : ' Pray for the memorial of our fathers the catholici', &c.
- (3) p. 271 col. 2 ll. 24-43.  
Prayer : ' Glory be to thee the finder', &c.
- (4) p. 272 col. 2 ll. 1-12.  
Elaborate rubric as to worshipping before altar, ending : ' *And he looks towards those on the right side . . . and worships towards them and says*'.
- (5) p. 272 ll. 13-15.  
' Bless, o my Lord. My brethren, pray for me that this offering be accomplished at my hands'.
- (6) p. 272 l. 16-p. 273 l. 32.  
Elaborate ceremony of worshipping before altar and kissing it.
- (7) p. 273 l. 34-p. 274 l. 4.  
Prayer (*cushāpa*) : ' Yea, o our Lord and our God', &c.
- (8) p. 274 ll. 5-18.  
Long rubric.<sup>1</sup>
- (9) p. 274 ll. 19-20.  
' Bless, o my Lord (*ter*). My brethren, pray for me'.<sup>2</sup>
- (10) p. 274 ll. 21-25.  
' *And they answer* : Christ hear thy prayers', &c.
- (11) *see* (7) above.
- (12) p. 274 ll. 28-38.  
Prayer (*gehānta*) : ' We confess', &c.

*Malabar.*

- Deacon : ' Oremus : pax nobiscum : orate in memoriam reducentis Patres nostros Catholicos', &c.
- p. 308 ll. 14-25.  
' Sit tibi gloria inventor', &c.
- p. 308 ll. 26-27.
- Rubric : ' *Odorat* [l. *Adorat*] *Sacerdos eos, qui a dextris altaris stant, et dicit eis*'.
- p. 308 ll. 28-30.  
' Benedicite Domini mei, et orate pro me, Patres mei, et fratres mei, ut consecretur oblatio haec per manus meas'.
- deest.*
- see* (11) below.
- deest.*
- deest.*
- p. 309 l. 1-p. 310 l. 3.  
' *Illi respondent cum diacono* : Christus exaudiat orationes tuas', &c.
- p. 310 l. 5-p. 311 l. 5.  
Prayer : ' Etiam Domine Deus noster'.
- p. 311 ll. 6-16.  
Prayer : ' Confitemur', &c.

<sup>1</sup> Chiefly occupied with (a) general instructions as to attitude of priest in saying prayers called *gehānta*, (b) title to Anaphora portion of 'Addai and Mari' which begins here.

<sup>2</sup> This appears as a sort of doublet to (5) above : it is omitted in Renaudot (vol. ii p. 587).

- | <i>Urmi.</i>   | <i>Malabar.</i>   |
|--|---|
| (13) p. 275 ll. 3-5.<br>'Peace be with you'.<br>Response: 'And with thee<br>and with thy spirit'.  | p. 311 ll. 18-19.<br>'Pax vobiscum. Et tecum et cum<br>Spiritu tuo'.  |
| (14) p. 275 l. 10.<br>Deacon: 'Let us pray<br>Peace', &c.  | <i>deest</i> <sup>1</sup>   |
| (15) p. 275 l. 11-p. 281 l. 25.<br>Diptychs. <sup>2</sup>  | <i>deest</i> .  |
| (16) p. 281 ll. 28-29.<br>Deacon: 'Give the Peace<br>one to another in the love<br>of Christ'.<br>Rubric: ' <i>They give the peace<br/>one to another and say</i> '. | p. 311 l. 20.<br>Priest: 'Praebeto pacem alteru<br>trum'.   |
| (17) p. 281 l. 30-p. 282 l. 3.<br>People: 'And for all catho-<br>lici', &c. <sup>3</sup>   | p. 311 ll. 21-29.<br>'Et pro omnibus Patriarchis', &c.  |
| (18) p. 282 col. 1 ll. 7-27.<br>Deacon: 'Let us all confess<br>and make request and<br>beseech', &c.   | p. 311 l. 30-p. 312 l. 1.<br>'Petamus, confiteamur, et obsecra-<br>mus omnes', &c.                          |
| (19) p. 282 col. 2 ll. 8-14.<br>Prayer ( <i>cushāpa</i> ): 'O Lord<br>God of hosts', &c.   | p. 312 ll. 2-7.<br>'Domine Deus fortis', &c.  |
| (20) p. 282 col. 2 ll. 20-23.<br>Rubric: ' <i>And the priest . . .<br/>lifts the veil from the mys-<br/>teries . . . and says</i> '.                                 | p. 312 marg. opp. ll. 5-9.<br>' <i>Discooperit mysteria et benedicit<br/>incensum . . . et dicit Sac.</i> ' |
| (21) p. 282 col. 2 ll. 24-27.<br>Prayer: 'Forasmuch', &c.  | <i>deest</i> .  |
| (22) p. 282 ll. 29-33.<br>Prayer of incense: 'O our<br>Lord and our God', &c.  | <i>deest</i> .  |

IV. '*Sursum corda*' to Fraction.

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| (1) p. 283 ll. 4-6.<br>'The grace of our Lord', &c. | p. 312 ll. 8-10.<br>'Gratia Domini nostri', &c. |
| (2) p. 283 l. 10.<br>'Lift up your minds'.          | p. 312 l. 12.<br>'Sursum sint mentes vestrae'.  |

<sup>1</sup> Renaudot (ii p. 588) also omits.<sup>2</sup> Inserted by Mr Brightman from another source. Their proper place is after the kiss of peace, as the Urmi Syriac text indicates and other authorities shew (see *J. T. S.* vol. xiii p. 592).<sup>3</sup> The terms of this formula clearly have reference to the diptychs (cf. *Narsai* p. 10).

- | <i>Urmi.</i>   | <i>Malabar.</i>   |
|--|---|
| (3) p. 283 l. 12.<br>'Unto thee, God of Abraham',<br>&c.   | p. 312 ll. 13-14.<br>'Apud te Deum Abraham', &c.  |
| (4) p. 283 l. 15.<br>'The offering is being offered<br>unto God the Lord of all'.  | p. 312 l. 15.<br>'Oblatio Deo omnium Domino<br>offertur'.   |
| (5) p. 283 l. 17.<br>'It is fit and right'.  | p. 312 l. 16.<br>'Dignum et iustum est'.  |
| (6) p. 283 l. 20.<br>Deacon: 'Peace be with<br>us'.  | p. 312 l. 16.<br>'Pax nobiscum'.  |
| (7) p. 283 ll. 23-26.<br><i>Cushāpa</i> : 'O Lord Lord, give<br>us openness of face', &c.  | p. 312 ll. 17-25.<br>'Domine Deus fortis da nobis<br>facierum revelationem', &c.  |
| (8) <i>deest.</i>  | p. 312 l. 26.<br>'Benedic Domine mi'.   |
| (9) p. 283 l. 32-p. 284 l. 8.<br>Prayer ( <i>gehānta</i> ): 'Worthy of<br>praise from every mouth',<br>&c.                         | p. 312 ll. 27-40.<br>'Omnium ore glorificetur', &c.   |
| (10) p. 284 ll. 10-17.<br>'Holy, Holy, Holy . . . Ho-<br>sanna in the highest'.  | p. 312 l. 41-p. 313 l. 3.<br>'Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus . . .<br>Hosanna in excelsis'.                                      |
| (11) p. 284 ll. 21-36.<br>Prayer ( <i>cushāpa</i> ): 'Holy',<br>&c.  | p. 313 ll. 4-23.<br>Prayer: 'Sanctus', &c.  |
| (12) p. 284 ll. 38-39.<br>'Bless, o my Lord ( <i>ter</i> ). My<br>brethren, pray for me'.  | <i>deest.</i> <sup>1</sup>  |
| (13) p. 285 ll. 2-23.<br>Prayer ( <i>gehānta</i> ): 'And with<br>these heavenly hosts', &c. <sup>2</sup>                           | p. 213 ll. 23-37.<br>'Cum his igitur caelestibus exer-<br>cibus', &c.   |
| (14) p. 285 l. 28.<br>Deacon: 'Pray in your minds.<br>Peace be with us'.   | p. 313 l. 38.<br>'Orate mentibus vestris: Pax<br>nobiscum'.   |
| (15) p. 285 l. 31-p. 286 l. 5.<br>Prayer ( <i>cushāpa</i> ): 'O Lord<br>God of hosts, accept', &c.<br>(intercessory). <sup>3</sup> | p. 313 l. 39-p. 314 l. 9.<br>'Domine Deus exercituum, audi<br>vocem', &c. (intercessory :<br>different from Urmi opposite). |

<sup>1</sup> Renaudot (ii p. 590) also omits.

<sup>2</sup> Lines 12-18 are occupied by the words of Institution. These are not found in the MSS, but have been inserted by the English editors of the Urmi Syriac from 1 Cor. xv. They are placed in square brackets by Mr Brightman. Malabar has no Institution formula here. See below, Section V no. (7).

<sup>3</sup> The prayers in nos. (15) and (16) are variable formulae. They belong to the class of '*cushāpas*', on which see below, p. 424. No. (15) in Malabar is substantially

- | <i>Urmi.</i>  | <i>Malabar.</i>   |
|---|---|
| (16) p. 286 note a.<br>Alternative intercessory prayer<br>to the preceding (also<br><i>cushāpa</i> ).                       | p. 314 ll. 10-22.<br>Another intercessory prayer :<br>different from that opposite.   |
| (17) p. 286 ll. 7-8.<br>'Bless, o my Lord', &c.   | <i>deest.</i> <sup>1</sup>  |
| (18) p. 286 l. 11-p. 287 l. 27.<br>Prayer ( <i>gehānta</i> ) : 'Do thou,<br>o my Lord', &c.                                 | p. 314 l. 23-p. 315 l. 8.<br>'Tu Domine mi', &c.  |
| (19) p. 287 col. 1 ll. 30-31.<br>Deacon : 'In silence and awe<br>stand ye and pray. Peace<br>be with us'.                   | <i>deest.</i>   |
| (20) p. 287 l. 30-p. 288 l. 7.<br>Invocation.   | p. 315 ll. 9-21.<br>Invocation (in same terms as in<br>Urmi).   |
| (21) <i>see (24) below.</i>   | p. 315 l. 23-p. 316 l. 8.<br>Psalm 'Miserere', as far as 'et<br>peccatores ad te convertantur';<br>Ps. 'Ad te levavi oculos meos',<br>as far as 'Miserere nobis,<br>Domine'. Then : 'Extende<br>manum tuam, et salvet me dex-<br>tera tua, Domine, permaneant<br>super me, Domine, amores tui<br>in saeculum, et opera manuum<br>tuarum ne derelinquas'. <sup>2</sup> |
| (22) p. 288 ll. 13-20.<br>Prayer : 'O Christ the peace<br>of those above', &c.  | p. 316 ll. 9-18.<br>'Christus pax superiorum', &c.  |
| (23) p. 288 ll. 22-31.<br>Prayer : 'I thank thee, o<br>Father', &c.   | <i>deest.</i> <sup>3</sup>  |
| (24) p. 288 l. 33-p. 289 l. 5.<br>A treatment of Pss. li and<br>cxxxiii somewhat similar to<br>that in Malabar at no. (21). | <i>see (21) above.</i>  |
| (25) p. 289 ll. 8-14.<br>Prayer of incense : 'May our<br>prayer', &c.   | <i>deest.</i> <sup>4</sup>  |

the same as the prayer found here in one of Renaudot's MSS (vol. ii p. 591) beginning : 'Domine Deus potens, exaudi vocem'.

<sup>1</sup> Renaudot (ii p. 591) also omits.

<sup>2</sup> Renaudot (ii p. 592) gives exactly this, and in the same position, from his 'other codex' (sc. of 'Addai and Mari').

<sup>3</sup> Renaudot (ii p. 592) also omits.

<sup>4</sup> Renaudot (ii p. 593) also omits.

V. *The Fraction to the Lord's Prayer.*

## Urmi.

- (1) p. 289 ll. 16-19.  
Rubric introductory to fraction: '*The order of signing and breaking . . . and he censes his hands and his face saying*'.
- (2) p. 289 ll. 20-26.  
'Sweeten, o our Lord and our God', &c.
- (3) p. 289 ll. 30-32.  
'The mercifulness of thy grace, o our Lord and our God, bringeth us nigh', &c.
- (4) p. 289 ll. 34-36.  
Deacon: 'In truth, o my Lord, we are not worthy. Have pity', &c.
- (5) p. 290 col. 2 ll. 1-4.  
Rubric: '*And the priest takes the bûchra . . . in both his hands . . . and says*'.
- (6) p. 290 col. 2 ll. 5-13.  
'Praise to thine holy name', &c.
- (7) *deest.*
- (8) p. 290 col. 2 ll. 18-20.  
'Glory be to thee, o my Lord (*ter*), for thine unspeakable gift towards us for ever'.

## Malabar.

- p. 316 margin opposite ll. 19-23.  
Rubric: '*Sac. benedicit incensum et mittens in thuribulum dicit*'<sup>1</sup>.
- p. 316 ll. 19-23.  
'Offeramus carmen Trinitati tuae supergloriosae, omni tempore, et in saecula. Suavem fac Domine Deus noster', &c. (Malabar omits the last 4 lines of the prayer in Urmi.)
- p. 316 ll. 24-27.  
'Domine Deus noster praebeat nobis accessum clementia misericordiae tuae', &c.
- p. 316 l. 28.  
'In veritate non sumus digni' (omitting what follows in Urmi).
- p. 316 marg. opposite l. 29.  
Rubric: '*Sumens ambabus manibus hostiam dicit*'.
- p. 316 ll. 29-35.  
'Gloria nomini tuo sancto', &c.
- p. 316 l. 35-p. 318 l. 5.  
The Institution.<sup>2</sup>
- p. 318 ll. 5-7.  
'Gloria tibi Domine mi (*ter*), propter ineffabile donum tuum'.

<sup>1</sup> Renaudot (ii p. 593 l. 2) has here: '*Imponit incensum, quo se ipsum perfundit, et dicit: Suavem fac Domine Deus noster*', &c. See no. (2) below.

<sup>2</sup> The presence and position of this formula in Malabar will be discussed in a subsequent Note. The rubrics as to genuflexion and elevation are obviously additions on the part of the revisers (see Raulin, p. 145: '*nec non eaedem adorationes, inclinationes, et ceremoniae fiant, quae in Missali Romano praescribuntur*').

- | <i>Urmi.</i>   | <i>Malabar.</i>   |
|--|---|
| (9) p. 290 col. 1 ll. 3-28.<br>Chant: 'I am the bread which came down', &c. <sup>1</sup>   | p. 318 l. 10-p. 321 l. 4.<br>Deacon and choir: 'Ego sum panis', &c. <sup>2</sup>  |
| (10) p. 290 col. 2 ll. 24-33.<br>'He holds the <i>büchra</i> firmly with both hands and says: We draw nigh, o my Lord', &c.  | p. 321 ll. 5-9.<br><br>'Accedimus Domine mi', &c.   |
| (11) p. 290 l. 36-p. 291 l. 22.<br>Long rubric as to method of breaking and signing: 'While naming the Trinity he breaks <sup>3</sup> . . . And he puts the half which is in his left hand in its place . . . And with the half in his right hand he signs the blood in the chalice . . . dipping a third part . . . into the chalice . . .' | p. 321 ll. 10-12.<br><br>Rubric: 'Sacerdos partem Hostiae, quam manu sinistra tenet, imponit patenae, aliam vero Sanguine intingit, usque ad medium, dicens'. |
| (12) p. 291 ll. 24-29.<br>'The precious blood is signed', &c.  | p. 321 ll. 13-15.<br>'Signetur Sanguis pretiosus', &c.  |
| (13) p. 291 ll. 30-35.<br>Rubric: ' . . . And so he signs the body in the paten in like manner with the same half which is in his hand saying'.  | p. 321 ll. 16-17.<br>'Et particula sanguine inducta signat alteram partem, et superponit patenae, dicens'.  |
| (14) p. 291 ll. 36-41.<br>'The holy body is signed', &c.   | p. 321 ll. 18-20.<br>'Signetur Corpus sanctum', &c.   |
| (15) p. 292 ll. 1-5.<br>Rubric: 'And he holds both the halves in his two hands and joins them together . . .'  | p. 322 l. 1.<br>'Et coniungens ambas particulas ad invicem dicit'.  |
| (16) p. 292 ll. 6-21.<br>'These glorious and holy and  | p. 322 ll. 2-8.<br>'Praedestinata <sup>4</sup> sunt consecrata,   |

<sup>1</sup> This is not indicated in the Urmi Syriac, but Renaudot has it at this point.

<sup>2</sup> Malabar has several verses more than are given in Brightman and Renaudot.

<sup>3</sup> After a few words the rubric continues: 'And some here sign the *perista* with their thumb at the time of breaking: but do thou beware of such an audacity', &c. But below, no. (17), Urmi has a rubric actually prescribing this forbidden practice. Is it the case that the prohibition above was inserted by the modern editors of the Urmi Syriac text? As to this rite in Malabar and its suppression see note to no. (17) below.

<sup>4</sup> This obviously translates the same Syriac verb that is rendered 'set apart', opposite. The word sometimes means 'devoted' to a particular purpose.

*Urmi.*

life-giving and divine mysteries have been set apart and consecrated and perfected and fulfilled', &c.

- (17) p. 292 ll. 22-36.  
 Rubric: 'And at now he cleaves a cleft with his thumb at the part which was dipped in the blood . . . and says'.

- (18) p. 292 ll. 37-39.  
 'Christ accept thy ministry', &c.

- (19) p. 292 l. 43-p. 293 l. 11.  
 'Glory be to thee, o our Lord Jesus Christ', &c.

- (20) p. 293 ll. 17-19.  
 'The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ', &c.

- (21) p. 293 col. 1 l. 28-p. 294 l. 27.  
 Deacon's proclamation: 'Let us all with awe and reverence', &c.

- (22) p. 293 col. 2 ll. 28-36.  
 'Blessed art thou, o Lord God of our fathers', &c.

- (23) p. 294 l. 30-p. 295 l. 10.  
 Diaconal litany: 'We condone . . . O Lord, pardon the sins', &c.

- (24) see (22) above.

- (25) *deest.*

*Malabar.*

perfecta absoluta, . . . mysteria haec supergloriosa, sancta et vivificantia et divina', &c.

*deest.*<sup>1</sup>

*deest.*

- p. 322 ll. 9-16.  
 'Gloria tibi Domine mi, quoniam creasti me', &c.<sup>2</sup>

- p. 322 ll. 17-19.  
 'Gratia Domini nostri Iesu Christi', &c.

- p. 322 l. 21-p. 323 l. 14.  
 Deacon: 'Omnes nos timore pariter, et honore', &c.

see (24) below.

- p. 323 ll. 15-34.  
 Litany: 'Propitiare peccatis', &c.

- p. 323 l. 35-p. 324 l. 1.  
 'Benedictus es Domine Deus Patrum nostrorum', &c. (To be said while the choir sing no. (23) above.)<sup>3</sup>

- p. 324 ll. 1-18.  
 Continuation of prayer in (24).

<sup>1</sup> See note to no. (11) above. The Acts of Diamper mention this practice as in use in Malabar, and condemn it (Raulin, p. 154). Evidently a rubric about it has been suppressed here.

<sup>2</sup> A different formula from that of Urmi, but the same as that in Renaudot at this point (ii pp. 594-595).

<sup>3</sup> Thus in Malabar no. (23) is simultaneous with no. (24); and the two items might as well have been indicated in the reverse order, as in Urmi.

- | <i>Urmi.</i>   | <i>Malabar.</i>  |
|--|--|
| (26) p. 295 l. 12.<br>Deacon: 'Let us pray.<br>Peace', &c.   | <i>deest.</i> <sup>1</sup>   |
| (27) p. 295 ll. 14-29.<br>'Pardon, o my Lord, by thy<br>compassion the sins and<br>transgressions of thy ser-<br>vants', &c. | p. 324 ll. 19-27.<br>'Dele Domine mi peccata, et<br>delicta servorum tuorum', &c. <sup>2</sup> |
| (28) p. 295 l. 31-p. 296 l. 4.<br>'Our Father', &c.  | p. 324 ll. 28-33.<br>'Pater noster', &c.   |
| (29) p. 296 ll. 6-12.<br>'O Lord God of hosts our<br>good God', &c.  | p. 324 l. 34-p. 325 l. 2.<br>'Etiam Domine Deus virtutum,<br>Deus noster optime', &c.          |
| (30) p. 296 ll. 14-21.<br>'Yea, o our Lord', &c. (An<br>alternative prayer to pre-<br>ceding.)                               | <i>deest.</i> <sup>3</sup>   |

*VI. From the Lord's Prayer to the end.*

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| (1) p. 296 ll. 26-28.<br>'Peace be with you'.<br>'And with thee and with thy<br>Spirit'.                                   | p. 325 ll. 4-5.<br>'Pax vobiscum'.<br>'Et tecum, et cum Spiritu tuo'.  |
| (2) p. 296 l. 30.<br>'The holy thing to the holies<br>is fitting in perfection'.   | p. 325 ll. 6-7.<br>'Sanctum Sanctis decet, Domine<br>mi, in consummationem'.   |
| (3) p. 296 ll. 32-34.<br>'One holy Father', &c.  | p. 325 ll. 8-10.<br>'Unus Pater sanctus', &c.  |
| (4) p. 297 ll. 4-26.<br>Chant: 'Terrible art thou',<br>&c.   | <i>deest.</i> <sup>4</sup>   |
| (5) p. 297 l. 30.<br>Deacon: 'Let us pray.<br>Peace', &c.  | <i>deest.</i> <sup>5</sup>   |
| (6) p. 297 l. 31.<br>Rubric: 'And the priest takes<br>the hand of the deacon and<br>places it on the chalice say-<br>ing'. | p. 325 ll. 11-13.<br>'Accedens diaconus ad altare,<br>Sacerdos apprehendit manum eius<br>dexteram, et infert in patenam,<br>dicens'. |

<sup>1</sup> Renaudot (ii p. 595) also omits.

<sup>2</sup> Malabar here agrees with Renaudot in omitting what is in Urmi, l. 21-l. 25 (second word).

<sup>3</sup> Renaudot also omits (*ibid.*).

<sup>4</sup> Absent also from the Urmi Syriac and from Renaudot.

<sup>5</sup> Renaudot, p. 596: 'Precemur pacem nobiscum'.

*Urmi.*

- (7) p. 297 ll. 32-37.  
 Priest: 'The grace of the Holy Ghost be with thee and with us and with the partakers thereof', &c.  
 Deacon: 'With thee and with us and with the partakers thereof in the kingdom of heaven'.
- (8) p. 298 l. 2.  
 Deacon: 'Praise ye the living God'.
- (9) p. 298 col. 1 ll. 5-11.  
 Antiphon: 'Blessed be thy body', &c.
- (10) p. 298 col. 2 ll. 1-15.  
 Rite of handing paten and chalice to deacon for the communion.
- (11) p. 298 l. 17.  
 Deacon: 'Bless, o my Lord'.
- (12) p. 298 ll. 20-21.  
 'The gift of the grace', &c.
- (13) p. 298 l. 23.  
 People: 'World without end Amen'.
- (14) p. 298 col. 1 ll. 26-29.  
 Antiphon: 'My brethren, receive the body of the Son, saith the Church', &c.
- (15) p. 298 col. 2 ll. 26-36.  
 Formulae for giving communion.
- (16) *see* (14) *above*.
- (17) p. 298 col. 1 l. 32-p. 299 l. 30.  
 Anthem of the *Bema*.
- (18) p. 300 ll. 3-36.  
 Thanksgiving hymn: 'Strengthen, o our Lord', &c.

*Malabar.*

- p. 325 ll. 14-16.  
 Deacon: 'Gloria (*sic*) Domini nostri'.
- Priest: 'Sit tecum, et nobiscum in regno caelesti, Gloria Deo vivo'.
- p. 325 l. 17.  
 Deacon: 'Glorificate Deum vivum'.
- p. 325 ll. 18-28.  
 A different chant: 'Gloria ipsi', &c.
- deest.*
- deest.*
- p. 325 ll. 29-30.  
 'Donum gratiae', &c.
- p. 326 l. 1.  
 Deacon: 'In saecula saeculorum. Amen'.
- see* (16) *below*.
- p. 326 ll. 2-4.  
 Formula when priest receives the chalice.
- p. 326 ll. 5-6.  
 'Fratres mei suscipite Corpus ipsius Filij,<sup>1</sup> dicit Ecclesia', &c.
- deest.*<sup>2</sup>
- p. 326 ll. 7-24.  
 Deacon: 'Conforta Domine nos-ter', &c.

<sup>1</sup> This is the original reading of Malabar: the revisers add 'Dei' after 'Filij'.

<sup>2</sup> This anthem is not indicated in the Urmi Syriac text, nor yet in Renaudot's MS.

## Urmi.

- (19) p. 300 l. 37-p. 301 l. 23.  
Second hymn (or second part  
of the preceding one):  
'Cause all harms', &c.
- (20) p. 301 ll. 28-32.  
Deacon: 'Let us all then',  
&c.
- (21) p. 301 ll. 34-35.  
People: 'Glory be to him for  
his unspeakable gift'.
- (22) p. 301 l. 37.  
Deacon: 'Let us pray. Peace  
be with us'.
- (23) p. 302 ll. 2-10.  
Priest: 'It is fitting, o my  
Lord, every day and it is  
right at all times and meet  
every hour', &c.
- (24) p. 302 l. 13.  
People: 'Bless, o my Lord'.
- (25) p. 302 ll. 15-25.  
Priest: 'Christ our God and  
our Lord', &c.
- (26) p. 302 l. 29-p. 303 l. 14.  
Chant: Psalms with farcing.
- (27) p. 303 l. 16.  
'Our Father'.
- (28) p. 303 l. 23-p. 304 l. 8.  
The 'seal' (blessing).
- (29) *deest.*
- (30) *deest.*<sup>2</sup>
- (31) *deest.*

## Malabar.

- deest.*
- p. 326 ll. 24-29.  
'Nos omnes igitur', &c. (As con-  
tinuation of no. (18) above.)
- p. 326 l. 30.  
Priest: 'Ipsi gloria propter in-  
effabile eius donum'.
- deest.*
- p. 326 l. 31-p. 327 l. 2.  
Priest: 'Decens, iustum, et di-  
gnum est, Domine, ut omnibus  
temporibus, et diebus, et horis',  
&c.
- deest.*
- p. 327 ll. 4-14.  
'Christus Deus noster, et Dominus  
noster', &c.
- deest.*
- p. 327 ll. 15-20.  
'Pater noster', &c.
- p. 327 l. 22-p. 329 l. 7.  
Blessing (different from that  
opposite).<sup>1</sup>
- p. 329 l. 9-p. 331 l. 9.  
Another blessing: '*in diebus solen-  
nibus*'.
- p. 331 l. 11-p. 332 l. 27.  
Another blessing: '*in diebus feria-  
libus*'.
- p. 332 l. 29-p. 333 l. 18.  
Another blessing: '*in Missa pro  
defunctis*'.

<sup>1</sup> At the end of the Urmi Syriac edition of the *Takhsa* (the vol. hitherto referred to as 'Urmi Syriac') is a series of these blessings, or 'seals', for different occasions: they are all in metre. The blessing given here in Malabar is to be found in the *Takhsa* on pp. 153-154.

<sup>2</sup> For the blessing opposite see the Urmi *Takhsa* pp. 162-163.

This is the end of the main part of the Concordance. It remains to deal with Section II (Lections to Creed, inclusive) which, owing to the fact that the Malabar text has here a different order from that in Urmi, was held over for separate treatment. The only possible method of dealing with this section is first to break it up into a number of subdivisions; then to give a general table shewing the different order in which these subdivisions occur in Urmi and Malabar; and finally to shew by a series of separate tables how each of these subdivisions is composed in Urmi and Malabar respectively. On examination the whole Section is found to be divisible into six parts, in each of which it is possible to compare Urmi and Malabar together by parallelizing the constituent items in continuous order, as in the main body of the Concordance.

In the first table these six subdivisions are ranged in the order in which they are found in Urmi; the numerals in the second column shew the relative position of each piece in Malabar.

*II. From the Lections to the Creed (inclusive).*

	<i>Urmi.</i>	<i>Malabar.</i>
A	1 Lections (Br p. 255 l. 25-p. 261 l. 28).	5 (Raulin p. 305 l. 3-p. 307 l. 29.)
B	2 First and second litanies, with censings of paten (Br p. 262 l. 1-p. 266 l. 11).	1 (Raulin p. 296 l. 35-p. 300 l. 39.)
C	3 Third litany (Br p. 266 ll. 13-33).	3 (Raulin p. 303 l. 23-p. 304 l. 10.)
D	4 Expulsion of catechumens (Br p. 266 l. 36-p. 267 l. 28).	4 (Raulin p. 304 l. 11-p. 305 l. 2.)
E	5 Setting of mysteries on the altar (Br p. 267 l. 29-p. 270 l. 26).	2 (Raulin p. 301 l. 1-p. 303 l. 22.)
F	6 Creed (Br p. 270 l. 30-p. 271 l. 7).	6 (Raulin p. 307 l. 30.)

The following tables shew how each of the above subdivisions of Section II is constituted in Urmi and Malabar respectively.

*A. The Lections.*

	<i>Urmi</i> 1.	=	<i>Malabar</i> 5.
(1)	p. 255 ll. 25-33. Prayers before the lections.		<i>deest.</i>

<i>Urmi</i> 1.	=	<i>Malabar</i> 5.
(2) p. 256 ll. 2-5. Lessons from O. T. and Acts. <sup>1</sup>		<i>deest.</i>
(3) p. 256 ll. 7-28. ' <i>Shurrāya</i> '. <sup>2</sup>		<i>deest.</i>
(4) <i>see</i> (10) <i>below</i> .		p. 305 l. 3. Deacon (?): 'Oremus, pax nobiscum'.
(5) p. 256 l. 30-p. 257 l. 3. Prayer before Apostle: 'Enlighten', &c.		p. 305 ll. 4-12. Prayer: 'Illumina', &c.
(6) p. 256 note a. Alternative prayer to last: 'Do thou, o wise governor', &c.		p. 305 ll. 14-20. Prayer: 'Te sapientissimum gubernatorem', &c.
(7) <i>deest.</i>		p. 305 l. 21. Deacon: 'Silete'.
(8) p. 257 l. 5. Deacon: 'Bless, o my Lord'.		p. 305 ll. 22-23. Priest: 'Paulus Apostolus Epistola: ad Corinthios Fratres mei; benedic, Domine mi'.
(9) p. 257 ll. 7-8. Priest: 'Christ make thee wise', &c.		p. 305 l. 24. Deacon: 'Benedicat te Christus'. <sup>3</sup>
(10) p. 257 l. 11. Deacon: 'Let us pray. Peace', &c.		<i>see</i> (4) <i>above</i> .
(11) [p. 257 ll. 13-36 <i>Turgāma</i> before the Apostle.] <sup>4</sup>		<i>deest.</i>
(12) p. 257 l. 38. The Apostle.		p. 305 l. 25-p. 306 l. 20. The Apostle: 1 Cor. v 1 &c.—full text.
(13) [p. 258 l. 4. 'Glory to the Lord of Paul'.] <sup>5</sup>		p. 306 l. 21. 'Gloria Christo Domino'.
(14) p. 258 ll. 6-11. Prayer: 'Thee, o brightness', &c.		p. 306 ll. 22-28. Prayer: 'Te splendorem', &c.

<sup>1</sup> In the Urmi Syr. text they are simply called 'the lections', without further specification.

<sup>2</sup> Text of this *shurrāya* not given in Urmi Syr., only the rubric: 'And they add the *shurrāya* that is appropriate'.

<sup>3</sup> It looks as if this should have been given to the priest, and the preceding remark to the deacon.

<sup>4</sup> There is no sign of this in the Urmi Syr. text.

<sup>5</sup> Not in Urmi Syr.; it is added in Br from information as to modern practice.

- | <i>Urmi</i> 1.  | = | <i>Malabar</i> 5.  |
|---|---|--|
| (15) p. 258 ll. 13-15.<br>Priest who goes to make ready the Gospel: 'Glory to the eternal mercy', &c. |   | <i>deest.</i>  |
| (16) p. 258 ll. 17-21.<br>Prayer: 'Make us wise', &c.   |   | p. 306 ll. 29-33.<br>Prayer: 'Sapientem me fac', &c.   |
| (17) p. 258 ll. 23-28.<br>Prayer of the censer.   |   | <i>deest.</i>  |
| (18) [p. 258 l. 31-p. 259 l. 3.<br><i>Zummāra.</i> ] <sup>1</sup>                                     |   | <i>deest.</i>  |
| (19) p. 259 l. 5.<br>Deacon: 'Stand we prepared', &c.   |   | <i>deest.</i>  |
| (20) p. 259 l. 7.<br>Deacon: 'Be silent and still'.   |   | p. 306 l. 34.<br>Deacon: 'Silentium est, silete'.  |
| (21) [p. 259 l. 9-p. 260 l. 28.<br><i>Turgāma</i> before Gospel.] <sup>2</sup>                        |   | <i>deest.</i>  |
| (22) p. 260 l. 30.<br>Priest: 'Peace be with you'.  |   | p. 306 l. 35.<br>Priest: 'Pax nobiscum'. <sup>3</sup>  |
| (23) p. 260 l. 32.<br>'And with thee and with thy spirit'.  |   | p. 307 l. 1.<br>'Et tecum et cum spiritu tuo'.   |
| (24) <i>deest.</i>  |   | p. 307 ll. 2-6.<br>Priest: 'Evangelium sanctum Domini nostri Iesu Christi, praedicatio Ioannis'. Deacon: 'Gloria Christo Domino'. Priest: 'Benedic, Domine mi'. Deacon: 'Benedicat te Christus'. |
| (25) p. 260 ll. 34-36.<br>Gospel. Deacon: 'Glory be to Christ our Lord'.                              |   | p. 307 ll. 7-29.<br>Gospel: John v 19 sqq.—full text.<br>D.: 'Gloria Christo Domino'.  |
| (26) [p. 261 ll. 1-38.<br>Anthem of the Gospel.] <sup>4</sup>   |   | <i>deest.</i>  |

<sup>1</sup> Not indicated in Urmi Syr.

<sup>2</sup> Not indicated in Urmi Syr.

<sup>3</sup> We expect 'vobiscum' in the priest's salutation; in Syriac liturgies the deacon always (so far as I know) says 'nobiscum', the priest 'vobiscum'.

<sup>4</sup> Nothing of this in Urmi Syr.

B. *The first and second litanies.*<sup>1</sup>

Urmi 2.

=

Malabar 1.

- (1) p. 262 col. 1 ll. 4-12. Deacon: 'Let us all stand up as is right', &c. p. 296 l. 35-p. 297 l. 2. 'Stemus omnes pulchre', &c.
- (2) p. 262 col. 1 l. 14-p. 263 l. 19. The first litany. p. 297 l. 3-p. 298 l. 1. The first litany.<sup>3</sup>
- (3) p. 263 l. 22. Deacon: 'Let us pray: peace be with us'. p. 298 l. 2. Deacon: 'Oremus, pax nobiscum'.
- (4) p. 263 l. 23-p. 266 l. 11. The second litany. p. 298 l. 3-p. 300 l. 17. The second litany.

[The Urmi Syriac does not contain the text of the litanies, but immediately after the reading of the Gospel it refers to them in a rubric. It is this rubric that occupies Br p. 262 col. 2; but as Mr Brightman has had to modify it somewhat in order to adapt it to the insertion of the text of the litanies, I now give it as it stands in the Syriac.]

- (5) p. 262 col. 2 (Br) p. 300 ll. 19-39.  
 'And the deacon says the *kārozūtha* (= litany) Father of mercies, and its companion'.  
 And while it is being said they both (sc. priest and deacon) go, and the deacon takes the censor, and the priest censures the paten.  
 And he takes the paten and puts in it as many *bukhras* (= loaves) as he desires; and he sets the paten on the treasury until the *kārozūtha*
- Dum haec Diaconus recitat, Sacerdos in medio altaris accipit patenam, et praebente thura diacono, et tenente thuribulum ambabus manibus cum igne, immittit incensum in ignem in formam crucis, et patenam thuris odore imbuit*. [Here follow prayers for the censuring of the paten, veil, and chalice.]
- [Here in Malabar follows the formal setting of the mysteries on the altar: see table E below.]<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In Malabar these follow immediately upon the Trisagion. See Sec. I no. (15).

<sup>2</sup> Malabar omits the petitions marked in Br with a †, i.e. those 'said only on Sundays, feasts of our Lord, and memorials of saints'.

<sup>3</sup> Though in the Urmi text the bread and wine are placed on the altar at a later point (viz. after the expulsion of catechumens, which follows the litanies), yet Badger's text prescribes this rite in connexion with the litanies. Thus, although Badger's text agrees with Urmi in placing the litanies after the Scripture lessons, it agrees with Malabar in connecting the presentation of the bread and wine with the litanies. See below, p. 422.



Urmi 5.

=

Malabar 2.

- (1) p. 251 ll. 35-38 (Br).  
'... and (he) pours wine into the chalice... saying: The precious blood of our Saviour is poured into this chalice: in the name of the Father', &c.
- (2) p. 251 ll. 39-42 (Br).  
'Then he takes a jar of water and pours it into the chalice... saying: Water is mixed with wine and wine with water, and let them both be one: in the name', &c. (So Malabar at no. (3) below.)
- (3) p. 251 l. 43-p. 252 l. 4 (Br).  
'He takes the flagon of wine and pours it into the chalice saying' (John xix 34, 35). (So Malabar at no. (2) above.)
- (4) p. 6 ll. 10-11 (Urmi Syr).  
Rubric as to placing paten and chalice on altar (= Br p. 267 col. 2 ll. 29-32).
- (5) see (7) below.
- (6) p. 6 ll. 12-17.  
First half of anthem: as far as 'Holy, Lord God' (= Br p. 267 col. 1 l. 30-p. 268 col. 1 l. 2).
- (7) p. 6 ll. 18-19.  
Rubric: priest holds paten in
- p. 301 ll. 1-3.  
'Mittens vinum in calicem dicit Sacerdos: Misceatur pretiosus sanguis<sup>1</sup> in calice Domini nostri I. Chr.: in nomine Patris', &c.
- p. 301 ll. 4-8.  
'Infundens aquam dicit: Venit unus ex militibus', &c. (John xix 34, 35). (As Urmi at no. (3) below.)
- p. 301 ll. 9-11.  
'Rursus infundens vinum dicit: Misceatur aqua vino, et vinum aqua in nomine', &c. (As Urmi at (no. 2) above.)
- p. 301 ll. 12-14.  
Rubric as to placing paten and chalice on altar (different wording from Urmi).
- p. 301 ll. 15-17.  
Rubric continued: priest holds paten in left hand and chalice in right.<sup>2</sup>
- p. 301 ll. 18-26.  
Anthem: as far as 'Sanctus Dominus Deus'<sup>3</sup>
- see (5) above.

<sup>1</sup> 'Pretiosus sanguis' is the original reading; it was altered by the revisers to 'vinum' (see Acts of Synod of Diamper in Raulin, p. 148).

<sup>2</sup> There is not the least reason for suspecting the genuineness of this rubric with Dr Neale, much less for thinking that it 'is evidently taken from the Roman Missal'! (*op. cit.* p. 153 note 5). There is nothing at all resembling it in the Roman rite.

<sup>3</sup> The words 'panem sanctum et calicem pretiosum' in this Anthem were originally 'corpus Christi et sanguinem eius pretiosum', as in Urmi (*cf.* Acts of Diamper, Raulin, p. 148).

Urmi 5.

=

Malabar 2.

left hand and chalice in  
right (=Br p. 267 col. 2  
ll. 33-35).

- (8) p. 6 l. 20.  
Deacon: 'Let us pray: peace  
be with us' (=Br p. 267  
col. 2 l. 37).
- (9) p. 6 ll. 20-24.  
Prayer: 'Let us send up  
glory to thy Trinity', &c.  
(=Br p. 268 col. 2 ll. 2-  
10).
- (10) p. 6 l. 24.  
Rubric: '*And he strikes the  
paten on the chalice three  
times and says each time*'  
(=Br p. 268 col. 2 ll. 11-  
13).
- (11) p. 6 l. 24-p. 7 l. 2.  
'By thy command, our Lord  
and our God, are set and  
ordered these mysteries',  
&c. (Br p. 268 col. 2 ll. 14-  
22).
- (12) p. 7 l. 3.  
Rubric: '*And he worships  
the mysteries on the altar,  
and they cover the mysteries  
with the veil carefully*'  
(=Br p. 268 col. 2 ll. 23-  
25).
- (13) p. 7 ll. 4-10.  
'Glory to the Father': and  
the rest of the anthem  
(=Br p. 268 col. 1 ll. 7-  
31).
- (14) see (12) above.
- p. 301 l. 27.  
Deacon (?): 'Oremus: pax nobis-  
cum'.
- p. 302 ll. 1-7.  
Prayer: 'Offeratur, et gloria im-  
moletur Trinitati tuae',<sup>1</sup> &c.
- p. 302 l. 8.  
Rubric: '*Sacerdos superponens  
altari oblata, silentio dicit*'.
- p. 302 ll. 9-13.  
'Constituantur et ordinentur  
mysteria haec', &c.
- see (14) below.
- p. 302 l. 14-p. 303 l. 17.  
'*Elevans vocem dicit: Gloria  
Patri*': and rest of anthem.
- p. 303 ll. 18-21.  
Rubric: '*Operiens oblata Sacerdos  
dicit:*  
Amictus lumine sicut vestimento',  
&c.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Latin translation seems to be somehow at fault here. The Acts of the Synod (Raulin, p. 148) read 'gloriae', which does not help.

<sup>2</sup> This seems to be a verse, or antiphon, of the anthem: it does not appear in Urmi.

- Urmi 5. = Malabar 2.  
 (15) *deest hic*.<sup>1</sup> p. 303 l. 22.  
 Rubric: 'Dum Sacerdos lavat manus dicit Diaconus'. [Here follows the third litany: see table D above.]
- (16) p. 7 l. 11-p. 8 l. 3. *deest*.  
 'And they go forth to the nave; and the priest lades the deacons with the cross and the Gospel, and says: Christ our Lord account you worthy to meet Him with open face, Amen. And they bind (back) the veils (of the sanctuary); and the priest begins the Anthem of the Mysteries, whichever it be,<sup>2</sup> and those in the altar repeat it. And the priest worships towards the four sides of the bema . . . [the number and direction of these obeisances is here prescribed] and he says Glory be in the Anthem of the Mysteries. And he comes down and is saluted<sup>3</sup> by the people; and when he reaches the deacons they worship towards him, facing each other<sup>4</sup>; and he says to them: May God the Lord of all (&c.). And when he arrives at the door of the apse, which is the altar, he says: Having our hearts besprinkled (&c.). He proceeds: But thou art good (&c.); or if there is no room (for this) he says: Our Lord Jesus Christ be with us' (&c.) (= Br p. 268 ll. 32-36, and p. 269 col. 2 l. 1-p. 270 col. 2 l. 26).

#### F. The Creed.

Urmi Br p. 270 l. 30-p. 271 l. 7; Malabar p. 307 l. 30 (after the Gospel).

If the foregoing Concordance is examined there would seem to be no escape from the conclusion that the Malabar Liturgy, which in Gouvea's Latin version bears the title *Sacrum BB. Apostolorum*, is, as Bickell says, 'identical' with the East-Syrian liturgy of the 'Apostles' Addai

<sup>1</sup> In Urmi the washing of hands comes later, after the Creed (Br p. 271 l. 13). But in giving the lavatory in connexion with the Anthem of the Mysteries and the ordering of the bread and wine on the altar, Malabar has the support of the mediaeval Nestorian commentator known as George of Arbela, who expressly says in his Exposition of the Offices of the Church (Bk. iv chap. 14) that the priest washes his hands in the bema during the anthem and the setting on of the bread and wine by the deacons; whereas the Creed was said in the sanctuary, whither the celebrant and assistant presbyters came in solemn procession from the bema after the mysteries were placed on the altar.

<sup>2</sup> Mr Brightman gives (pp. 269, 270 col. 1) the text of one of these anthems from some other source.

<sup>3</sup> Vocalizing the verb *meshallam*, i. e. 'receives the salutation *shelām*'.

<sup>4</sup> i. e. the deacons are standing in two rows *e regione*, and make an obeisance to the priest as he passes between them. On this procession see pp. 422-423 below.

and Mari. In only two points can the differences be regarded as amounting to more than mere 'variants': (1) as regards the presence in 'Malabar' of a formula of Institution, which is not found in the manuscripts of 'Addai and Mari'. This matter will be discussed in another Note, and may be dismissed altogether from the present one. (2) in Section II, where the Malabar has an entirely different order. On this latter point a few remarks are offered here.

As regards the order in Section II, what has been done in 'Malabar' (if it can be said to have been 'done' and not simply to 'be') is this: the rite of setting the bread and wine on the altar has, in the text, been placed between the second and third litanies (see table B), but it is directed by a rubric to be performed *while* the deacon is saying the first and second litanies; and then the whole passage beginning with the first litany and ending with the expulsion of catechumens (i.e. subsections B, E, C, D) has been placed *before*, instead of *after*, the readings of the Scripture.

As we have seen, the Urmi text has the order: Lections, Litanies, Expulsions, Setting mysteries on the altar, Creed. That this is a traditional East-Syrian order is seen, for the last three items, by consulting Narsai's metrical commentary.<sup>1</sup> Further, the above order for all five items is supported not only by the commentator known as George of Arbela<sup>2</sup> (not later than saec. xii), but also by the earlier mediaeval commentator Abraham Bār Lipheh.<sup>3</sup>

Are we then to ascribe the different order in 'Malabar' here to the work of Menezes? In other words, are we to suppose that, having the 'Urmi' order before him in the liturgy he was revising, he altered a point of agreement with the Roman Mass into one of marked disagreement, viz. by directing that the bread and wine should be set on the altar before the reading of the Scriptures instead of after it? There is nothing to suggest that he did any such thing, and good *prima facie* ground for supposing that he would not have had recourse to a gratuitous reform by de-Romanizing (if the term may be permitted) the rite before him in this particular point. Moreover, the Malabar text in its revised form directs that the chalice be mixed before it is placed upon the altar: another non-Roman feature.<sup>4</sup> Further, if for the moment

<sup>1</sup> *The Liturgical Homilies of Narsai* (Cambridge Texts and Studies VIII i) pp. 2-5.

<sup>2</sup> In his *Expositio Officiorum Ecclesiae* (in the *Corpus scriptorum christianorum orientalium*) lib. iv capp. 5-17. Vol. i of this work, containing books i-iii, has already appeared (Syr. text, 1911; Latin trans., 1912), also the Syriac text of vol. ii, containing books iv-vii (1913).

<sup>3</sup> In his *Interpretatio Officiorum*. The Syriac text of this commentary is now in print at the end of vol. ii of the work mentioned in the previous note. Bār Lipheh is often quoted in the commentary of 'George of Arbela'.

<sup>4</sup> At a Roman high Mass both the bread and the wine are brought up and set on the

we leave aside the question of the Institution and its place in the anaphora, which will be discussed in a subsequent Note, it is plain from the above Concordance of the Urmi and Malabar texts that nowhere else in the liturgy do the revisers manifest any desire to interfere with the order of the text they are dealing with: the purpose of their corrections is everywhere doctrinal, even where they introduce words from the Roman Missal.<sup>1</sup> In view of this there is no good reason for doubting the *bona fides* of the revisers when, in the Acts of the Synod (Raulin, p. 146), they declare their intention of preserving the old rite as far as possible unaltered: 'utque antiquus ritus, quantum patitur fidei sinceritas, ac doctrinae puritas, servetur.' Certainly for the change of order in Section II it is difficult to see what motive touching 'faith and doctrine' can be alleged. But in fact it is noticeable that Dr Neale and others, in charging Menezes with having tampered with the order of the old rite, nowhere adduce this Section II as an example: though here is the one case in which there is a material difference as to order between the Malabar and the Urmi text of 'Addai and Mari'.

There is just one other remark to be made as to the order of events in Section II. It is this: that even (late) East-Syrian MSS are not consistent in this matter. Thus Badger's text so far agrees with the Malabar against the Urmi order, that it gives the rite of setting the bread and wine on the altar in connexion with the litanies, and *before* the expulsion of catechumens; whereas the Urmi text places it *after* the expulsions, and apart from the litanies. If Menezes was responsible for the Malabar order here, it is curious that he should have hit upon this point of agreement with some current East-Syrian texts.

At this point may be noticed a matter not concerned with the question of order. No. (16) of table E (of Section II) shows a rubric in the Urmi edition which, as it stands there, does not seem very intelligible. Immediately after the bread and wine have been set on the altar the priest is referred to as being in the 'bema', then as 'coming down', and finally as arriving 'at the door of the apse, or altar'. I do not know how far this may be understood by the modern Nestorian Christians who use the liturgy of Addai and Mari, or by those

altar after the Gospel, or after the Creed (following the Gospel) when this is said; and the mixing of the chalice then takes place on the altar itself. In a low Mass the empty chalice and the paten with the host upon it are placed on the altar before the Mass begins; but the wine and water are poured into the chalice after the Gospel (or the Creed), as at high Mass.

<sup>1</sup> This only occurs in the Creed, the Institution, and a response of the people to which the words 'et omnibus orthodoxis, atque catholicae et apostolicae fidei cultoribus' are added from the Roman prayer *Te igitur*. This response is no. (10) of Section III.

who have had an opportunity of attending a celebration among them. In other words, I do not know whether the rubric in question represents anything in present use, or is now merely an unmeaning survival in the text from an obsolete practice. What was formerly done at this part of the service can be learned from the commentator known as George of Arbela. In bk. ii chap. 2 of his Exposition<sup>1</sup> he gives a detailed description of an East-Syrian, or Nestorian, church. At the east end stood the apse, sanctuary, or 'altar'. Outside this, and shut off from it by a partition (whether a solid wall or a perforated screen does not appear) and a curtained door, was an open platform called the *gestrōmā* (κατάστρομα), which was approached from the level of the nave floor by steps. 'In the midst of the nave' was another spacious platform, called the 'bema'. This bema contained an altar, a throne for the bishop, two pulpits for the readers, and room enough for a considerable number of assistant presbyters. On the east side of the bema were steps leading up to it, and facing those of the *gestrōma*. Between the bema and the *gestrōmā* was a passage connecting them. Now from the early chapters of bk. iv (dealing with the Liturgy) we learn that the whole of what was once the Mass of the Catechumens was conducted by the bishop from the bema in the middle of the church; and it was not until after the mysteries had been set on the altar (which took place during the singing of the 'Anthem of the Mysteries') that the bishop, accompanied by the whole body of clergy, marched in an imposing procession from the bema to the sanctuary. On arrival at the door of the sanctuary they began the Creed, which was then said aloud by the whole congregation.

At the end of the fifth century we find Narsai describing a similar procession, though he does not mention the bema: 'The priests now [sc. after the mysteries have been set on the altar] come in procession into the midst of the sanctuary, and stand there in great splendour and beauteous adornment'; and as soon as they reach the sanctuary the Creed is sung by all.<sup>2</sup>

Now the Malabar rite has not got this procession to the sanctuary; and there is no indication that any part of the service is to be conducted from the bema; nor is the bema itself mentioned. It seems a reasonable suggestion that the absence of this feature in the text as we have it is due to a difference in the construction of the Malabar churches, which led to the whole service being conducted from the sanctuary. Perhaps some one who has seen modern Nestorian churches at Urmi or in the neighbourhood will tell us whether they still keep the arrangement of the bema as described by 'George of Arbela'.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 421 note 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.* pp. 4-5.

As the ultimate purpose of this paper is to help towards a fuller understanding of the East-Syrian rite, of which the Malabar is one representative, it may be well to add here a few remarks that have no direct bearing on the inter-relation of the Malabar and Urmi texts. In a note to no. (15) of Section IV in the Concordance it was pointed out that two intercessory prayers coming shortly before the Invocation, and entitled *kushshāphā* in the Urmi text (in Brightman *cushāpa*), are only specimens of a whole class of such intercessory formulae; the two in 'Malabar' differ from those in 'Urmi', but one of them is to be found in Renaudot (vol. ii p. 591). It is important for the study of the East-Syrian rite to observe that all prayers in the Urmi text which bear the title *kushshāphā* are late additions, and no part of the traditional liturgy of Addai and Mari. The same of course applies to any corresponding prayers in 'Malabar' and in the texts of Renaudot and Badger in which the title *kushshāphā* is not preserved by the editors. There is nothing suggestive of any of these prayers in Narsai, nor do the mediaeval commentators Bār Lipheh and the so-called George of Arbela anywhere employ the term *kushshāphā* to describe a liturgical formula, or comment on any of the prayers thus designated in the Urmi text. Hence it is a mistake to suppose that the liturgy of Addai and Mari had, until quite late times, anything of the nature of a Great Intercession just before the Invocation of the Holy Spirit, as in the other Nestorian liturgies of Theodore and Nestorius. Nor can it any longer be said that the presence of an Intercession just before, instead of just after, the Invocation is a distinctively 'Persian', or East-Syrian, note.<sup>1</sup> When these *kushshāphā* prayers are eliminated, the nearest thing to an Intercession in the East-Syrian rite is to be found in the deacon's address 'Pray ye for the memorial of our fathers the catholici' &c. (Br p. 271), and in the people's response after the diptychs 'And for all the catholici' &c. (Br p. 281): both items attested by Narsai.<sup>2</sup> The intercessory *kushshāphās* in the present 'Addai and Mari' were probably added in imitation of the Intercessions in 'Theodore' and 'Nestorius', and so passed on to 'Malabar'—just as we find in Narsai an elaborate Intercession, doubtless of his own composition, which he tells us was said by the priest 'imitating Mar Nestorius in his supplication'.<sup>3</sup> It is especially noteworthy that even the comparatively late writer 'George of Arbela' in his elaborate commentary says no word as to an Intercession before the Invocation: he treats the whole passage from the beginning of the Preface to the end of the Invocation as one prayer, which he calls

<sup>1</sup> I fell into both these errors in my Introduction to *The Liturgical Homilies of Narsai* (1909) pp. lxxvii and lxxix, for at that time I was not aware of the facts stated just above.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.* pp. 6 and 10.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 20.

*gēhāntā*; and it is undoubtedly these unvarying prayers entitled *gēhāntā* that best represent in our modern texts the nucleus of the ancient East-Syrian anaphora.

The facts just stated as to the Intercession in the East-Syrian liturgy will need to be seriously considered by any one who undertakes to deal with the sixth-century fragment of a 'Persian' anaphora published by Bickell, a Latin translation of which (made by Bickell) is printed by Mr Brightman in Appendix L to his *Eastern Liturgies*. Of this document Mr Brightman says (*ibid.* p. lxxix) that 'its structure indicates its Persian affinities, the Intercession intervening between the Institution and the Invocation'. But if 'Addai and Mari' is the true and traditional representative of the 'Persian', or East-Syrian, type of liturgy, it will now be pertinent to ask whether, instead of being connected with the 'Persian' type, the fragment is not rather differentiated from it by just the feature in question; and whether it does not thereby fall into the category of fifth or sixth-century East-Syrian adaptations of Greek texts represented by the liturgies of Theodore and Nestorius. To this category I should be inclined on other grounds also to assign the fragment. Why that great oriental scholar, the late Dr William Wright, spoke of it without qualification as 'the anaphora of Diodorus of Tarsus',<sup>1</sup> no one seems to know, and it may very well be doubted whether he had any positive authority for doing so.

The result arrived at in this Note is—I think this may now be said without fear of controversy—that the Malabar and the East-Syrian liturgy of Addai and Mari are one and the same. A subsequent Note will be devoted to the enquiry, exactly how far the text of the Malabar rite was altered by Menezes and the Synod of Diamper—with regard in particular to the Recital of Institution.

R. H. CONNOLLY.

## PSALM LXXVI AND OTHER PSALMS FOR THE FEAST OF TABERNACLES.

*The residue of wrath shall keep feast to thee LXX (or shalt thou gird upon thee R.V.<sup>txt</sup> or shalt thou restrain R.V.<sup>mg</sup>) Ps. lxxvi (lxxv) 11 (10).*

THIS difficult phrase occurs in the concluding stanza of a Psalm, 'In Judah is God known', celebrating some signal deliverance whereby God has destroyed the enemies of Zion. He has broken the fiery

<sup>1</sup> *Syriac Literature* p. 28.